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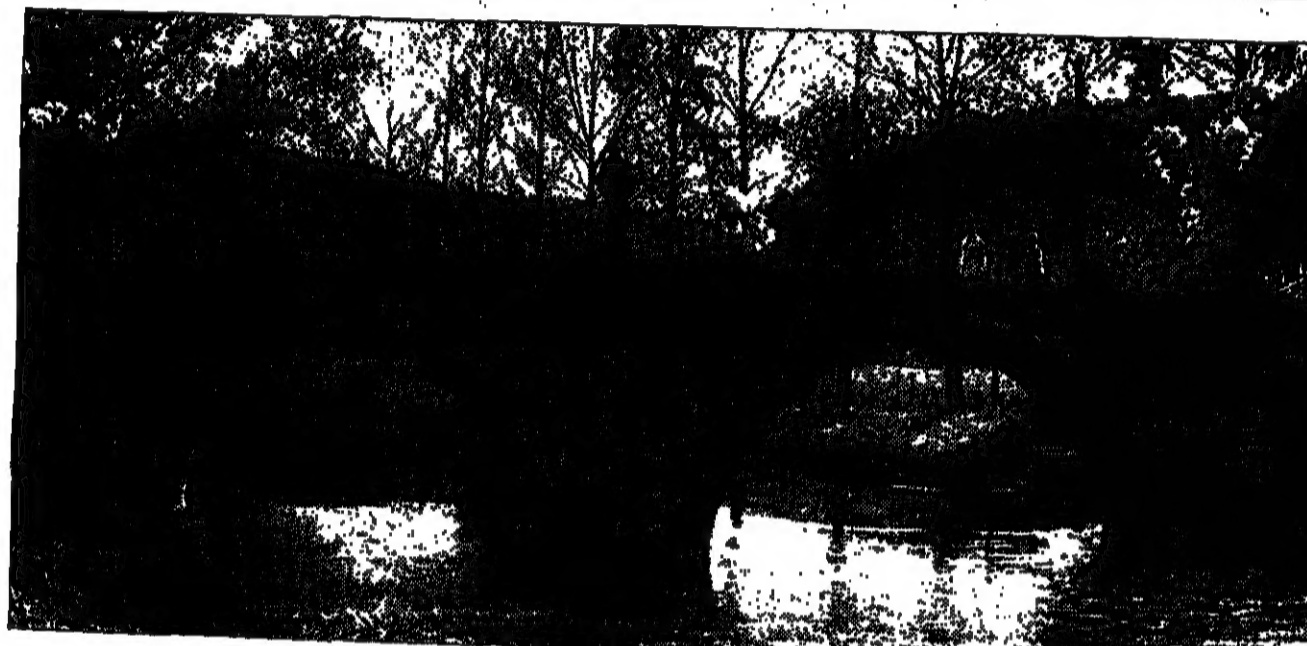
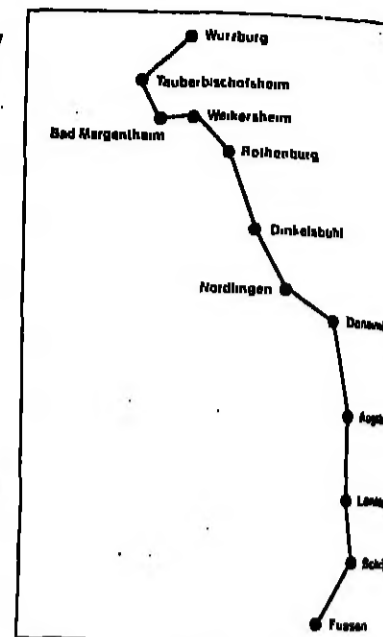
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Bonn and Washington agreed on SDI

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

An agreement has clearly been reached in broad outline on SDI and technological cooperation terms with the United States, secretive though Bonn government officials may still be about the entire issue.

They did not originally expect agreement on both issues to be reached at the same time.

SDI is first and foremost a matter of agreement as soon as possible on research collaboration, with the option of military use of research findings.

Technology transfer in more general terms entailed such an abundance of legal and commercial issues that no-one seriously expected agreement to be reached in the foreseeable future.

Surprisingly, this distinction is not strictly accurate. The SDI section of the German-American negotiation package covers in miniature all factors of relevance to technology transfer on a larger scale.

German negotiators in Washington are said to have made such headway that the Chancellor's Office in Bonn has

whether a bilateral agreement between Bonn and Washington could include the Four-Power city.

International legal issues with regard to the status of Berlin immediately arise, as do the Bonn government's diplomatic reservations.

But it is an exaggeration to say that SDI is strictly and exclusively military in character. SDI research seems sure to result in many technological breakthroughs in the non-military sector.

No-one is going to go out of his way to try and draw a strict dividing-line between the two.

Observers in Bonn strongly suspect that the Berlin issue has been raised as part of a last stand against SDI by Herr Genscher's Foreign Office.

Officials are suddenly insisting on protecting Berlin's industrial interests who must surely realise that clear-cut distinctions could jeopardise the entire SDI agreement.

If this is the case it is most annoying. But, as one Bonn official well acquainted with the subject says with a sigh: "Berlin is a law unto itself."

It will be interesting to see how the Americans reconcile agreement with Bonn on SDI and avoidance of a clash with Four-Power rights in Berlin — always assuming they want to do so.

In reality Berlin does not really boast such an enormous amount of technology relevant to SDI.

Besides, if SDI research is ever to be put to industrial use in the divided city use can always be made of subsidiaries of Berlin firms in the Federal Republic. So the obstacles need not be insuperable.

The Bonn coalition is still pondering



German Defence Minister Wörner, US Defence Secretary Weinberger and Chancellor Kohl at Grafenwöhr, Bavaria (Photo: dpa)

A hearing for Afghanistan

Anger and helplessness were the emotions triggered by the two-day hearing of experts on the war in Afghanistan held by the Bundestag foreign affairs committee.

The experts were agreed that genocide was the only word for what was going on in Afghanistan.

It can be proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the war the Soviet Union has waged for over six years in the backward Asian country has cost one million lives.

One and a half million people have been injured. Five and a half million live in appalling conditions in refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran.

The methods used by the Soviet "liberators" in Afghanistan are clearly aimed at bludgeoning entire areas into submission.

The expulsion or annihilation of people who live there is not just a risk that is run; depopulation is a means of gaining power that is put to deliberate use.

In Afghanistan a world power is displaying unhindered its enormous military potential so as to force its ideology on a reluctant but basically helpless people, and it is done in full view of world opinion.

When American public opinion began to realise about 20 years ago how dubious the US commitment in Vietnam was, a widely-based critical movement gained momentum and finally forced the United States to quit Indo-China.

Nothing of this kind can be expected in the Soviet Union. The Communist dictatorship there will nip any such mass movement in the bud.

That is the difference between the superpowers. It is also the difference between the war in Afghanistan and the war in Vietnam.

Dreadful though it may be, the Afghanistan hearing in Bonn can only trigger sympathy and emotion in the West.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 March 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

DIPLOMACY	Page 5
US ambassador stresses 'sound partnership'	
SCIENCE	Page 9
Giotto's space encounter with Halley's comet	
BOOKS	Page 10
Grass's radiant vision of Armageddon	
MEDICINE	Page 13
Test-tube babies herald 'Brave New World'	

The next issue of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 13 April 1986

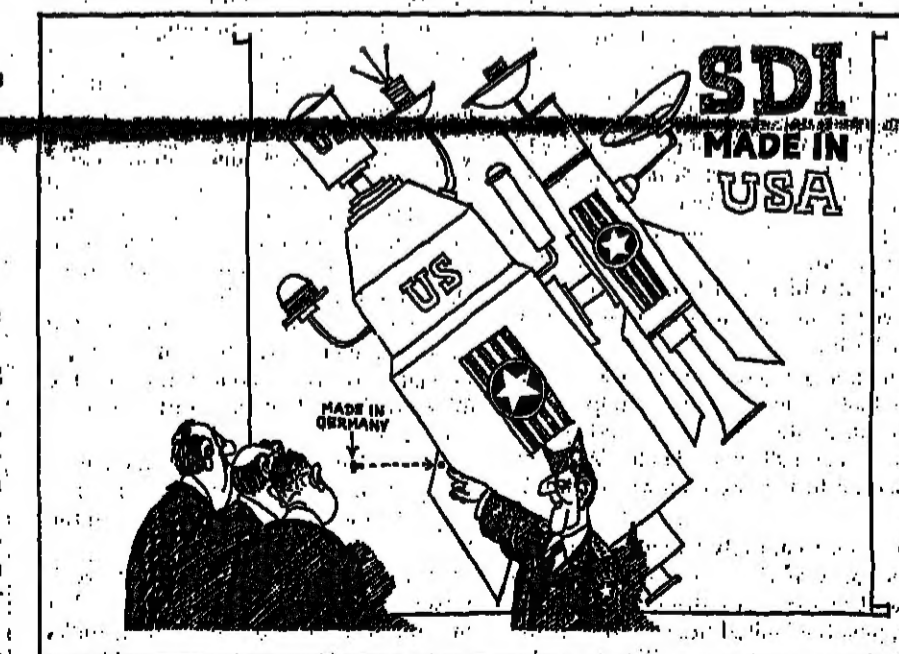
hopes of reaching agreement on the small print of both parts of the package.

It would certainly be most gratifying if agreement were reached on both.

Berlin has proved a further problem, with a Berlin clause no-one had previously mentioned suddenly emerging as a bone of contention.

Berlin has a growing high-tech potential that would clearly come into its own in the context of technology transfer with the United States.

As long as SDI is seen in strictly military terms it is extremely doubtful



(Cartoon: Leger/Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger)

Bonn long turned a deaf ear to queries whether and when GDR leader Erich Honecker might be visiting the Federal Republic.

This self-imposed silence has proved worthwhile. For nearly 18 months rumours, regardless whether they were dreamt up by the media or fabricated in East Berlin, have been proved wrong. Besides, there is no harm in not hawking goods you don't yet have to sell.

So Chancellor Kohl must be extremely sure of himself when, after two short conversations with Herr Honecker in Stockholm, he has government spokesman Friedrich Ost announce that the East German leader plans to come later this year.

In point of fact this statement is meaningless. You can want to come yet be unable (or not allowed) to do so.

The Chancellor did not authorise his spokesman to say Herr Honecker would definitely be coming. But such niceties are sure to be ignored once speculation on deadlines begins again.

It was clearly more to the point to prompt GDR People's Chamber president Horst Sindermann to say in Bonn he felt it was high time Herr Honecker visited the Federal Republic.

The teased-out question whether he will or not has lately been joined by a new permutation.

The latest round of rumours would have it that the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, plans to visit Bonn even before Herr Honecker.

Bonn officials sound a note of total surprise in response to these rumours. They knew (and know) of no such plans. They would have come as a surprise and testified to erratic behaviour for which the Kremlin leader has not so far been noted.

On the contrary, Mr Gorbachov's moves so far have seemed to have method, and his policy toward the Germans in particular (East and West) has been calculable and consistent even though it might not be entirely to the liking of either Bonn or East Berlin.

Both German states have been clearly demoted in order of importance in Soviet eyes, particularly since Mr Gorbachov has been at the helm.

Since the funeral of his predecessor, Mr Chernenko, GDR leader Erich Honecker has met Mr Gorbachov on three occasions.

He first flew to Moscow on a two-day friendship visit that seems not to have been very successful. The euphemistic accompaniment was missing that formed part of communiques issued during visits by the Czechs, the Bulgarians and the Poles.

This visit seems to have spiked a visit Herr Honecker was planning to pay the Federal Republic last autumn. He was told instead to confer more closely with the Poles, who had taken a dim view of special relations between the two German states.

Herr Honecker's third visit to Moscow for the 27th Soviet Communist Party congress made it clear how far he lagged behind Poland, whose leader General Jaruzelski was allowed to visit Lithuania.

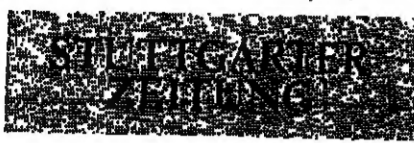
That was a concession the Kremlin will have made with great reluctance. Many Lithuanians are still strongly pro-Polish.

General Jaruzelski's final communiqué contained all the usual protestations of full agreement and total harmony, as did the communiques issued in connection with visits by other East Bloc leaders.

But there were to exceptions to this rule: Erich Honecker of the GDR and Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania.

WORLD AFFAIRS

Bonn unmoved by Honecker, Gorbachov visit rumours



It must have been particularly humiliating for Herr Honecker to have to include a comment that Bonn's pro-US policy was a burden on relations with the communist states.

For the past two and a half years the GDR leader has sought to prove the very opposite. He stood by ties with Bonn despite Nato missile deployment, despite SDI solidarity and despite conservative diatribes against the communist world.

He even sounded an encouraging note on travel arrangements, on environmental protection and on the arts agreement and seemed prepared to stop turning over Third World applicants for asylum to West Berlin.

Among East Berlin's special moves in Westpolitik the GDR's special relationship with West Germany particularly riles Moscow.

Herr Honecker has taken to practising the exact opposite of what Moscow has so far had in mind with Bonn.

Diplomats and military experts meeting in Stockholm for the CSCE conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe have only 17 weeks left.

Talks began on 17 January 1984 and are due to end this autumn. By 19 September at the latest the conference must brief governments and, via them, the general public on specific confidence-building measures East, West, neutral and non-aligned European countries have agreed.

The third CSCE review conference, due to open in Vienna on 23 September, will then review the progress made in Stockholm.

The Helsinki review conference will then decide whether the proposals on extending and specifying what so far is voluntary manoeuvre notification and exchange of manoeuvre observers and on renunciation of the use of force are adequate.

What is at stake is whether the experts will need to confer again next year in Stockholm or elsewhere if the results achieved by September are insufficient.

People in East and West who in the final analysis are supposed to benefit from mistrust gradually giving way to confidence may, of course, wonder why the Stockholm talks have made no headway for the past two years.

They may also wonder whether the trouble and expense of an East-West forum at which well-known differences of viewpoint are merely reiterated is worth while.

Impatience, no matter how understandable it may be, is no help in this context. Neither is exaggerated optimism, occasionally voiced in the West and based on little more than wishful thinking.

It would naturally be most gratifying if the 35 CSCE delegations, consisting of all European countries except Albania, plus the United States and Canada, were to present fine-sounding formulas

Bonn has consistently made a point of denying the fact that it has been sidelined by the Kremlin since bitterly disappointing Soviet hopes.

There is no longer the slightest mention of a special West German role that might, given time, have led to a certain loosening of transatlantic ties. Chancellor Kohl is not the man for an arrangement of this kind.

When speculation arises that the Soviet leader might want to personally sound out the possibilities in Bonn and to warn Bonn not to set up in cahoots with the United States, officials at the Chancellor's Office say he might just as well save the fare.

Chancellor Kohl is nonetheless firmly convinced the Federal Republic has an indispensable part to play in the Kremlin's Westpolitik, if only because Moscow can only achieve its ambitious economic targets with the aid of West German economic might.

But that is as far as Bonn's arguments go, and as long as West German trade is not controlled and used as a political instrument by the Bonn government the Kremlin will see no need to court the

Federal government more assiduously than it has been doing.

Business is brisk even though political relations may be at a standstill.

At present Mr Gorbachov would be likely to reconsider this point were to realign his foreign policy only, and after the Soviet Communist Party congress there are no signs of such an intention.

At the congress the bipolar approach the view that there are in practice two political heavyweights, the Soviet Union and the United States, reactivated.

The multipolar approach, by which several blocs simultaneously including Europe as an independent actor, has been relegated to a minor role.

A handful of significant changes, including the appointment of former Soviet ambassador to the States Anatoli Dobrynin as secretary of the central committee, show the line to be keenly interested in a contest with the United States.

Bonn may currently be speculating about visits by both the Soviet and GDR leaders, but analysis of Mr Gorbachov's policy and the continued emphasis on Soviet supremacy in the East Bloc would seem to indicate this as a wasted time.

Wagers have certainly been made that neither Mr Gorbachov nor Herr Honecker will be visiting Bonn before the general election next January.

Eduard Neumaier
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 18 March 1984)

17 weeks left to build confidence

at the end of their ninth conference round.

But what good are fine phrases when they don't represent the desire of all concerned to put them into practice?

It is surely better for the Western democratic states, naturally including the neutrals, to continue what they have been doing for the past two years: arriving at a realistic attitude toward and viewpoint on the Soviet Union and its satellites.

The Russians and their allies continue to be extremely tightlipped about manoeuvre announcements and invitations to Western military observers to attend East Bloc manoeuvres.

Yet from Western and neutral viewpoints a demonstration of good will by means of confidence-building measures that in no way impinge on the accrued rights of the great powers is particularly important.

Confidence-building and credibility will only increase once manoeuvres have for some time ceased to be regarded as classified information, are announced in good time and can be verified by observers from other states from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Despite conciliatory gestures toward the West there have been no signs of crucial East Bloc concessions to the West at the end of the ninth round of Stockholm talks.

The Kremlin still seems reluctant to accept that Lenin's dictum "confidence is good, control is better" applies to the Soviet Union too.

Any review before the three-week Easter recess is bound to concede that the ninth round of Stockholm talks made slight progress toward building a

framework within which to house a declaration.

Draft provisions have been submitted on the manner, extent and timing of manoeuvre announcements, the view being that 45 days' notice, no should be given.

Yet when the small print is examined it will be seen that the experts have gone into any great detail; the details lack substance.

Despite lip service by Mr Gorbachov the East Bloc cannot be expected to follow the West's example and submit precise details of the next year's manoeuvres, which Bonn for one does.

There is said to be agreement in principle on inviting manoeuvre observers from all CSCE member states (which the East Bloc doesn't), but one wonders if this is to be taken at face value.

Old CSCE hands remember the Soviet Union hinting in 1973 it was prepared to permit an unrestricted flow of information, but will also remember how soon the East Bloc withdrew the offer, claiming it was too risky.

Confidence-building still has a way to go. Conference delegations unfortunately work on the assumption that pitfalls aplenty will lie in wait when they reconvene in Stockholm for the 10th round of talks.

Siegfried Löffler
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 16 March 1984)

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HOME AFFAIRS

CDU state leaders still support Chancellor

Chancellor Kohl's chairmanship of the CDU may not be directly in jeopardy, but things are definitely beginning to change within his party.

Although the current development at the CDU's executive level cannot be regarded as a transition from stability to instability, there is a trend towards what could be termed an "emancipation" of the party from the personality of the party chairman.

Kurt Biedenkopf's election as head of the new CDU Land group in North Rhine-Westphalia is symptomatic of this development.

Biedenkopf's success is not the first step in this direction, but almost rounds it off.

The reorganisation of the CDU in the Federal Republic's biggest Land means that the territorial organisation has once again become a determinant factor together with the traditional significance

of the various CDU organisations and associations.

These organisations, which voice the interests of small and medium-sized businesses, employees, women, the church, expellees, exiles and local community groups, have always had a strong influence on decisions taken by the CDU.

They all send delegates to party conferences, form working groups within the CDU's parliamentary party, and are even partly represented in the CDU's formally highest decision-making body, the presidium.

Experience has shown there is an informal group alongside this committee which is much more important in times of crisis than the leading bodies laid down in the statutes.

The internal struggles during the period between the decision in Kreuth in 1976 to split the single parliamentary party of the CDU and CSU into two separate groups and the Chancellorship campaign in 1980 made this all too clear.

At that time both the party chairman and the party's presidium were paralysed by events.

However, it wasn't the party's national executive which came to the rescue, but an informal body which was at least able to act, even though it is not provided for in the party statutes, namely the assembly of the CDU's Land Premiers and party chairmen.

These Land premiers convened in Mainz without consulting the national leader beforehand.

This group, therefore, took over the party leadership for a short while.

It is worth taking a closer look, therefore, at this group, which also exerts a powerful influence during non-crisis situations.

If, in doing so, we concentrate on whether the members of this group owe their party-political successes to Helmut Kohl or achieved them on their own or indeed in conflict with the party chairman we arrive at some very interesting findings.

The CDU for its part has very little to offer in return.

What the Chancellor is currently experiencing is a typical case of a self-made problem, a problem which cannot be explained or talked away before next year's general election.

In the CDU comes to the conclusion that this and other self-made problems jeopardise its election chances, Kohl may soon find himself politically out on a limb.

All political parties have their leaders when they have been successful. Chancellor Kohl is probably aware of this danger himself.

The CDU is increasingly forcing him to declare and assume responsibility for the policies he is pursuing.

The fact that Kohl decided to appear at the first party conference of the CDU's newly formed North Rhine-Westphalian region despite his reservations about the region's first chairman, Kurt Biedenkopf, shows that he is currently undergoing a learning process.

He realises that he must take the offensive. It does seem odd, however, and difficult to understand why he has not made such a move before.

Achim Melchers
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 7 March 1986)

None of the CDU's state premiers or party chairmen can be classed as "Kohl's men."

This does not mean that they do not support the Chancellor and his policies.

Premier Uwe Barschel in Schleswig-Holstein, for example, is Finance Minister Stoltenberg's man and not Kohl's.

Gerhard Stoltenberg became party chairman in Schleswig-Holstein via his own efforts.

Premier Ernst Albrecht in Lower Saxony and Land party chairman Wilfried Hasselmann, also achieved their positions without Kohl's direct support.

The Länder of Hamburg and Bremen are less important for the CDU.

Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia have party groups which are important for the CDU as a whole even though there are no CDU Premiers in these states.

Despite the differences the two CDU leaders there may have, Walter Wallmann and Kurt Biedenkopf are certainly not Kohl's protégés.

The same applies to Bernhard Vogel, Premier of the Rhineland-Palatinate, Lothar Späth, Premier of Baden-Württemberg, and Eberhard Diepgen, Governing Mayor of Berlin.

Of course, the Chancellor can count on their support when things are running smoothly or at least satisfactorily.

This situation would change, however, if leading members of the party gained the impression that Kohl stands in the way of the party's success.

An important factor then would be Lothar Späth's known desire to become Chancellor.

Gerhard Stoltenberg's reputation and Cabinet experience, however, would weigh more heavily.

And Kurt Biedenkopf would not be the only CDU politician to then realise that he got where he was despite Helmut Kohl.

It is difficult to say whether such a situation could occur before the general election in 1987.

Three months have now passed since the party began drifting into the doldrums of electoral defeat.

The most recent disappointment in this respect in Schleswig-Holstein is not the only reason for the headaches in the party.

Problems with the farmers, the never-ending saga of dubious cases of party-political funding, and the preliminary

Continued on page 5

Helmut Kohl takes stock of intra-German relations

In his state of the nation speech to the Bundestag, Chancellor Kohl took stock of intra-German relations.

He appraised the progress made during recent years as well as the limitations and risk associated with policies.

Political disillusionists often feel that the best way to improve relations between the two Germanies would be for the Federal Republic to renounce its all-German claims and provisos.

For this reason, it is important to outline political realities in this field to make it clear exactly what is and what is not possible.

Government and Opposition politicians with an eye for these realities and not quite as irreconcilable as one might think in view of the heated debates and disputes over which party can claim a "birthright" for the country's Ostpolitik.

One of these realities is the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany is embedded in the Western alliance.

Another is the fact that East Ger-

many is a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Neither fact can be "bartered" in negotiations.

Meetings between two neutralistically oriented German states would only arouse the suspicions of Western partners and permanently damage security interests in Berlin.

Those who complain about the lack of respect shown for "East German citizenship" frequently ignore the fact that the authorities of the GDR are the ones which refuse to respect properly issued German documents, namely the passports of residents of West Berlin.

This administrative aggression demonstrates the true political situation, whereas the politically naive claim that the population of West Berlin could simply be added to the West German side if there were two German citizenships.

The GDR's idea of "peaceful coexistence" by no means includes a relinquishment of ideological positions.

What is more, as the Chancellor

Continued on page 4

Former speaker of Bundestag dies aged 79

Eugen Gerstenmaier, president of the Bundestag from 1954 to 1969, has died aged 79.

Gerstenmaier was born on 25 August 1906 in Kirchheim/Teck and was brought up in a poor family.

He studied philosophy and theology and was hoping to begin a university career. But that was prevented by the Nazis.

Gerstenmaier was a member of the Confessional Church and soon came into contact during the war with members of the German resistance.

Following the assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler on 20 July 1944 he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Volksgerichtshof.

Gerstenmaier was a member of the Bundestag right from the start in 1949. In 1954 he succeeded Hermann Ehlers as president and held the post for almost 15 years.

His name was always mentioned when his party, the CDU, was looking for new leaders. He was particularly interested in foreign policy.

Just like Kurt-Georg Kiesinger he would have liked to have become Foreign Minister.

After Ludwig Erhard's coalition government with the FDP collapsed in 1966 many people thought Gerstenmaier would become Chancellor.

He decided not to stand as a candidate, however, after the CSU voted for Kiesinger.

He was extremely disappointed in May last year when the CDU suffered a bitter election defeat in the Land elections in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Helmut Kohl, who had already become acquainted with Gerstenmaier as a political thinker during his period as Premier in the Rhineland-Palatinate, often asked him for his advice.

Many people in Bonn still remember him as the man who tried to reform parliament. The Bundestag office block still bears his nickname.

In particular, he wanted to reduce the number of deputies in the Bundestag.

Furthermore, he wanted all Land elections to be held in the middle of the Bundestag's parliamentary term, which he said should be extended to five years.

Many politicians felt that he was over-arrogant, a man who, as regards protocol, wanted others to realise that he was the second most important West German politician.

This explains why he found little support when it became known in 1969 that he had received a compensatory payment for the fact that he had been refused the right to lecture as a university professor during Nazi rule.

Under the weight of public pressure, and of criticism by his fellow party colleagues he decided to step down from office.

He always emphasised, however, that his main concern was his right and not the money.

Accusations by a certain General Rahmke and from the GDR had cast doubts upon his active involvement in the German resistance.

All he wanted to do, said Gerstenmaier, was to clear his name by seeking compensation for what he had suffered during the war.

Hans H. Heckmann
(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 15 March 1986)

DEFENCE

Franco-German anti-tank helicopter's costs skyrocket before it's airborne

Free Democratic Bonn Bundestag MP Olaf Feldmann has a nasty feeling a commission of enquiry might be set up if project costs for the Bundeswehr's new anti-tank helicopter continue to skyrocket.

His suspicions may well be justified. Defence Minister Manfred Wörner faces an avalanche of growing costs the full extent of which his Ministry is tight-lipped about.

What is more, this cost explosion seems likely to come home to roost in a general election year, normally a time when a sitting Minister can least afford trouble of this kind.

Two years ago the anti-tank helicopter, a joint Franco-German project, was all the rage, hailed in May 1984 with an unprecedented media fanfare.

New horizons were said to be in sight for arms expenditure. There was to be an end to the wasteful procedure of designing and manufacturing virtually identical weapon systems two or three times in Europe.

Yet the only new horizons so far in sight are ever higher cost estimates for the bilateral arms project. It's the old story, with low costs estimated before contracts are signed, followed by steady upward revision.

Brigitte Traupe, Social Democratic defence expert on the Bundestag finance committee, says:

"We've seen it all before in other pro-



jects. What most annoys me is that no one seems prepared to do anything about it. The Defence Ministry has swallowed it all hook, line and sinker again."

That remains to be seen. State secretary Manfred Timmermann says there is no truth in reports that the helicopter is now expected to cost DM1.5bn, as against an original estimate of DM950m.

He said the estimates now stood at DM1.05bn and further details would not be available until May. So the moment of truth has been postponed.

It was nonetheless a foregone conclusion that the manufacturers, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) of Germany and Aérospatiale of France, would be unable to keep development costs to within the original estimate.

"The costs were higher even in our time," Frau Traupe says, meaning before October 1982 when the Bonn government was led by Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt.

The anti-tank helicopter project dates back to preliminary studies commissioned from MBB by SPD Defence Minister Hans Apel.

"Bilateral development is planned from 1980 to 1986," a 1979 MBB report read. "The German armed forces will need delivery from 1986, the French from 1987."

Like so much in the arms industry, that was to remain wishful thinking. When Helmut Kohl and François Mitterrand signed the memorandum of understanding in May 1984 the French were not to take delivery until 1991 and the Germans until 1992.

If Herr Kohl and M. Mitterrand had only kept to the 1970s cost estimates they would have been nearer the present forecast. The anti-tank helicopter was originally expected to cost DM1.2bn.

Civil servants, the military and arms manufacturers played the figures down. Last spring Joachim Heyden of the Bonn Defence Ministry said the 'copter would cost roughly DM800m — even though he must have known better.

By spring 1985 the true costs were clearly going to be much higher. Classified small print in the 1985 defence estimates put project R&D costs at DM1.05bn at the end of 1984.

Costs were thus DM150m higher than at the end of 1983, or over 15 per cent in a year.

Unit costs have also skyrocketed in next to no time (and the Bundeswehr is to order 212 PAH 2 helicopters).

When long-term Bundeswehr planning data were published early this year the Greens complained in the Bundestag that helicopter procurement costs (i.e. not including R&D) had been marked up by over DM1bn in a year.

In 1985 the estimated cost was DM2.3bn. This year the figure has been revised to DM3.6bn. Says Henning Schierholz of the Greens:

"Long-term planning extending until 1998 yet evidently based on extremely unreliable data that change from one year to the next is simply a scrap of paper."

The development cost estimates are certainly little more than waste paper. More detailed specifications are now available. They indicate a further, two-year delay in production deadlines and a corresponding increase in costs.

The French project working party expects German R&D expenditure to overshoot the estimate by 50 per cent, while French spending will be 35 per cent higher than planned.

Continued from page 3.

clearly pointed out in his speech, the government in Bonn has no right to abandon democratic and humanitarian principles.

His reference to the inviolability of borders was an attempt to prevent any misunderstanding on this point.

Nevertheless, assuming that both countries harbour peaceful intentions, there is plenty of scope for more understanding for the benefit of people on both sides.

Only history will tell whether these small steps can lead to a reunification of the German people in self-determination.

This approach, however, can already claim to have eased relations to an extent nobody would have thought possible 15 years ago.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 15 March 1986)

Yet even these figures now seem to have been overtaken by events. The dienst, a normally very reliable newsletter, says the Defence Ministry now expects Germany's share of a development costs to total DM2.07bn.

That would be an increase of over 10 per cent on the figure quoted by the Ministry's Herr Heyden just over a year ago.

Inflation in the arms industry is high at between seven and eight per cent but an increase of over 100 per cent is not possibly to be justified on this score.

State secretary Timmermann avoids even attempting to seek redress. Inflation rates that are easily managed in any case.

At the end of January, on the occasion of cost management guidelines which the Minister, Herr Wörner, expects great things, Herr Timmermann admitted to members of the Bundestag finance committee that the Ministry itself was partly to blame.

"Improvements in project management are a fairly effective means of curbing cost increases," he said, adding details.

Yet so far the Ministry has not ruled out serious shortcomings at the planning stage — shortcomings readily apparent even to the layman.

Instead of concentrating on cost reduction to cut costs, a strange compromise was agreed on: a helicopter three versions.

The German Army is to be issued with a helicopter with an outmoded arms system that will be replaced in mid-1990s by the new third-generation anti-tank missile.

France will be supplied with the helicopter fitted out with the new missile system ex works from the mid-1990s while from 1992 it will also take delivery of a protection and support version.

It is not yet clear which night sight system, the crucial feature of the entire system, is to be used in the German version.

Some experts favour a new, French-made European development, while others feel an outmoded US system is a possibility. France has always insisted on either French or a European system.

In May the Bundestag defence committee will be briefed on the findings of a report commissioned by the Defence Ministry. The report deals with cost-cutting alternatives.

"We must take less expensive alternatives into consideration," Herr Heyden says. "Things can't just go on as before."

One alternative would be an entirely different helicopter version, such as a rapid transport helicopter. Do French and German forces really need an anti-tank helicopter?

This is a particularly pertinent and urgent question inasmuch as a missile development that should be in place by the mid-1990s to score a direct hit on any helicopter before it had the chance of firing anti-tank devices.

Experts at Eurocopter in Munich are not ruling out the development of a rapid transport helicopter. Eurocopter is a general contractor for the new aircraft.

The question is one of whether one weapon might not make another one obsolete. Missiles could be built, although it would be extremely difficult to target accuracy.

But the cost would be enormous. The anti-tank helicopter would argue be useful in forcing the other side to invest heavily in missiles.

Yet sooner or later pitting cash on cash is going to lead to physical destruction. It will do so at the latest when the tire earnings of an economy are ploughed into armaments.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 March 1986)

DIPLOMACY

US ambassador stresses 'sound partnership'

Richard Burt, 38, US ambassador in Bonn since last September, brought with him from Washington a message of self-confidence, self-assurance and optimism.

In public appearances he presents a refreshing contrast to the scepticism, cynicism and humdrum concern for Ostpolitik of continental Europeans in the free world.

It is surely no coincidence that he had this to say to a Frankfurt magazine published by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the party-political foundation of the Social Democrats:

"A group of US Congressmen recently visited Berlin and there met Herr Honnecker. One of them asked him when he was going to pull down the Wall.

"Now I can well imagine at this point cries of dismay from some Germans at what they feel to be a naive question. I don't feel the question was naive. I think it was right to ask it."

"It isn't setting one's sights too high to have such targets or the vision of a Europe where freedom of movement and the right to self-determination are realities."

As in other contexts Mr Burt refers to President Reagan's address to the European Parliament in Strasbourg last summer in which he said:

"The United States is not just committed to partnership with Europe; the US commitment extends to ending the artificial division of Europe."

That means not merely a united Western Europe. Mr Burt says, interpreting President Reagan's words, but "one Europe united in peace, a Europe where foreign troops are unnecessary."

He doesn't see this as a utopian vision. The United States is well aware that the path to change for the better is long and stony.

Yet America still aims at nothing less than a fundamental change in the way in which the Soviet Union treats its own people and the nations of Eastern Europe.

So it aims at bringing about a funda-

Continued from page 3

investigation of two public prosecutors' offices against Helmut Kohl increase the pain.

The repeatedly poor performance of the CDU at local government and Land elections since 1983 (with the exception of Berlin) indicate that there is something fundamentally wrong.

The large number of traditional CDU voters who now don't bother to vote and the apathy of the CDU grass roots members have the party really worried.

Many members feel that the real reason lies in the fact that the promised sweeping change in moral and intellectual values has not materialised.

There is growing concern that the Land elections in Lower Saxony on 16 June could also turn out to be a big disappointment for the CDU.

If the party were to lose Lower Saxony the internal network of interests and loyalties between the top politicians of the CDU and Helmut Kohl might become extremely significant overnight.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 March 1986)

and willing to maintain a general military balance with the East."

Since contacts with the East since the early 1970s the problem has not been one of a lack of agreements but one of sensibly applying existing agreements. Mr Burt is disappointed with the Helsinki process.

The conclusion he reaches from détente policy is that "the Soviet military build-up seems to be impervious to political change where the sum total of relations is concerned."

"In Soviet military planning there seems to be a trend to pay greater heed to domestic factors than to international developments."

Mr Burt has outlined on more than one occasion his concept of "mature partnership" between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

He says relations between them are strong and healthy and feels this also holds good for relations between the United States and Europe.

Experience over the decades shows the Western alliance as a very pluralistic system to be well and comfortably able to survive differences of opinion.

He is convinced ties between America and Europe are strong today because ties between the United States and Germany are sound.

In Munich he described the Federal Republic's role in "mature partnership" as follows:

"The Federal Republic of Germany was a leading member of the European Community, a force for European integration and an advocate of cooperation between America and Europe. The Un-



Richard Burt

(Photo: dpa)

ited States showed signs of fresh readiness for consultations, while the Federal Republic showed signs of fresh readiness to take on responsibility for security policy issues.

"Left to its own devices the United States would be weakened and the Federal Republic would be little more than a pawn on a chessboard, an object in policies pursued by others," he said in the Bavarian capital.

Close ongoing ties between Europe and America would establish conditions on the basis of which European integration could best flourish.

Yet he added that the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany weren't twins. As Maurice Chevalier once said: "Vive la différence!"

Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode
(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 March 1986)

Moscow names its new man in Bonn



Yuli Kvitsinsky

(Photo: dpa)

Geneva Mr Kvitsinsky never abandoned his direct link with leading politicians in the Federal Republic of Germany. He conferred with Foreign Minister Genscher only a few weeks ago.

In the first round of US-Soviet talks in Geneva Mr Kvitsinsky and his US opposite number, Paul Nitze, drew up the "walk in the woods" proposals, their governments later failed to adopt.

Since the resumption of talks delegations have been reshuffled under chief

delegates Karpov of the Soviet Union and Kampelmann of the United States.

Mr Kvitsinsky is responsible for space weapons, including SDI.

He is of Polish and Russian extraction and claims to have grown up among Russian Germans. That may help to explain why his German is so superb.

He is a past master at polemics and speaks Spanish and French too. He is particularly keen on Romance arts and culture.

He once said he would love to serve as ambassador in Madrid or Paris. This predilection is doubtless intensified by his wife, who teaches French.

Politicians and senior civil servants in Bonn who have made his acquaintance say he is extremely competent and well-informed.

State secretary Lothar Rühl, who knows him well, once said Mr Kvitsinsky was the perfect combination: a man well-versed in German affairs and the German mentality, and equally well-versed in Soviet affairs, data and criteria of disarmament talks.

He has never denied his keen interest in military matters.

His appointment to succeed Mr Senyov has yet to be officially confirmed. The outgoing ambassador must first be recalled before a country can name his successor.

Unofficially his name has been mentioned. The appointment of such a highly qualified specialist is seen as showing keener Soviet interest in the Federal Republic.

In many quarters his appointment is seen as a Soviet response to the appointment of Richard Burt as US ambassador in Bonn.

Both represent a new generation of highly skilled career diplomats.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, München, 7 March 1986)

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HANOVER FAIR

CeBIT computer and office equipment fair

— slow start despite official optimism

This year's Hanover Fair consists of two separate and distinct events: the CeBIT office equipment and computer fair and the traditional industrial fair.

CeBIT has already been held. The traditional Hanover Fair, concentrating on product groups such as plant construction, mechanical and electrical engineering, is in early April.

Many criticised this decision by the fair's organisers, the Deutsche Messe- und Ausstellungs AG, which felt it had no choice but to hold the event on two separate occasions to cater for the huge demand for space by new exhibitors.

But the opening days of CeBIT seemed to confirm the scepticism voiced by critics of the new concept. Their main complaint is that the Hanover Fair will now lose visitors who come to see products exhibited in both stages.

Microelectronics and the networking of operations subsystems have increased the interdependence of the various products groups.

One major exhibitor said he was going to send half his stand's representatives back home after the first few days of the CeBIT fair if more visitors didn't come.

These are unusual words for a branch which has been enjoying double-digit growth rates for years and seems assured of a golden future.

"The first Hanover CeBIT Fair is a great success," said Lower Saxon Economics Minister Birgit Breuel. "We have many more exhibitors and floor space booked than in previous years."

This good news was announced even before the first visitor had made his way through the entrance gates of the huge exhibition area in Hanover, capital city of the Land of Lower Saxony.

At least Frau Breuel seemed convinced that the idea of splitting the Hanover Fair into two parts was a good one. The mood of exhibitors at the end of the first day of CeBIT fair, however, was less triumphant.

It was more in keeping with the overcast and grey skies than with the official mood of optimism.

A spokesman for one of the largest European computer manufacturers referred to the response to the fair on the first day as a catastrophe.

In terms of the numbers of business enquiries made at the various stands CeBIT's popularity was almost 50 per cent lower in some cases than last year.

Only a dozen visitors, for example, showed an interest in computer applications in the building industry, as opposed to over one hundred last year.

The spokesman had his own explanation for this disappointing turnout. In earlier years, he pointed out, cranes and building machinery were on display in the fair's open-air section.

This year, on the other hand, people will have to wait until April to see these exhibits.

"The people from the building industry who dropped in to see us last year to find out more about data processing," he said, "are not there this year."

The gloomy mood is particularly apparent in the exhibition halls far away from the traditional CeBIT building.

Referring to the low number of visitors who make their way across to Com-

plex 15, Christian Wedell from the software supplier Microsoft said: "It looks as if the word has not yet got around that stands have been reallocated this time."

Some exhibitors in this section sought some consolation in the hope that it might just be a matter of time before more visitors realised this fact.

Other exhibitors, however, are not so gloom. IBM, for example, talked of a reasonable start.

The spokesman for the fair's organisers, Ulrich Koch, emphasised that the first day had "traditionally never been the liveliest."

Even the fair's official newspaper, the *Messe Zeitung*, did not try to hide its frustration about the poor start.

In its Thursday edition (one day after the fair began) it tried to see the whole thing in a more humorous vein.

"The start... was not exactly what somebody living on the coast would call stormy," one should add that it wasn't just a slight breeze either.

Hall 1, the traditional centre of events during this computer fair, was as hot, cramped and hectic as in the "old" days.

People milled around when tennis superstar Boris Becker turned up to advertise a pocket dictating machine at the stand of the Philips subsidiary, PKI.

"As I'm pretty lazy when it comes to writing I just dictate my observations on my opponents' strong and weak points into my Memo," said Becker, in undoubtedly, lucrative praise of the Philips Pocket-Memo.

The jostling teenagers trying to get just a glimpse of Boris brought business to a standstill in this part of the hall.

The representatives at the nearby exhibition stands had plenty of time to twiddle their thumbs.

The hero of this tennis nation certainly had more appeal than word processing.

Manufacturers are hoping that easier computer operating ("user-friendly" software) was probably one of the most popular catchphrases in Hanover) will help overcome the unwillingness to use computers, word processors etc. in medium-sized firms.

Federal Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann is convinced that the breakthrough will come.

In five years' time, he said at the exhibition, 13 million, or half the West German labour force, will have to be able to handle microelectronics equipment in some way or another.

The unstoppable advance of the computer industry was bound to become too big for the traditional Hanover Fair framework sooner or later.

Siemens feels that nobody came up with a better idea than to split the fair into a separate CeBIT exhibition and an industrial fair.

The Paderborn-based computer company Nixdorf, on the other hand, has been openly opposed to the idea of splitting the fair into two parts right from the start.

The company's press spokesman, Rolf Frey, outlined the company's position:

"We appreciated the problems facing the organisers and came to terms with

the concept. However, we are both about it."

Prey suggests that CeBIT should at least take place after May so as to avoid the adverse effects of poor weather in March.

HASF, which exhibits computers "Made in Japan" along with its series such as tapes and discs, is sceptical about the two-stage idea.

The company feels that some visitors who came along regularly last year may now stay away.

PCS criticised the fact that the exhibition was held too close to the trade fair in Munich.

In the magazine *online* PCS complained that it was difficult to get up with something really new, over only four months after the exhibition.

"There's a big question mark over our participation at CeBIT," continued.

Mario Thompson from Data Co feels that an opportunity has been missed. Problems could have been solved via a tighter allocation of space, claims.

Modesty, however, is not regarded a virtue in the "gold-digger" industrial data and communications technology.

In view of the restricted space in earlier years for small and medium-sized firms as well as firms from the Far East which moved into the European market at a later stage, the kiting strategists have now ordered much more space.

According to Ulrich Koch, the BfA and above all the Japanese, have given the opportunity to expand at the fair.

Including the stands of their European subsidiaries, Japanese firms now account for 24,000 square metres of floor space at the fair, twice last year's figure.

Only American and West German manufacturers can boast more.

The vigour with which the Japanese are moving into the European market is reflected by the fact that the comparable Japanese exhibition, the Tokyo Business Show, only has a total exhibition area of 20,000 square metres.

NEO for example has increased its exhibition space threefold, while Sanyo had twice as much space last year (1,000 square metres) as last year.

In addition to its "traditional" 200 square metres in Hall 1, Sanyo this year had 600 square metres in the new computer building 16.

The number of representatives at Japanese stands is enormous.

On the first day of the CeBIT exhibition the NEC stand seemed to be more representative than visitors.

Some of the telephones NEC brought along to the fair cannot even be used in Germany as they are not licensed.

The underlying intention of NEC is to demonstrate its equipment and technology. "We want to demonstrate what is technologically feasible," said an NEC representative.

Nixdorf however need not be concerned about Far Eastern technology. There is no longer any need to fear "Euroclerosis" in this field.

Nevertheless, Heinz Nixdorf does hide his concern about international standards, for example, with regard to telecommunications system ISDN.

If the Japanese readjust their norms in a big way, he says, then German manufacturers will soon have to be net exporters in the field of communication technology.

Because of the cheap labour equipment of this kind, Nixdorf would then come from the Far East.

COMMODITIES

Multi-fibre compromise is envisaged

Frankfurter Rundschau

Third World countries should be allowed to export higher textile quotas to the industrialised West, say Economic Affairs Ministry officials in Bonn.

"The system is to be retained but the rules will be relaxed a little," they feel, outlining the agreement reached on a joint European Community negotiating position at the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) talks due to start in early April.

State secretary Dieter von Würzen says that while not all Bonn's wishes may have been met, a reasonable compromise with liberal features has been agreed.

The Multi-Fibre Agreement, reached in 1974 and since renewed every four years, expires again in July. It is generally agreed to be a cardinal sin against the principle of free world trade.

Bonn has so far had little difficulty in advocating the case for free trade. The Federal Republic exports more textiles than any other country except Italy.

Besides, Ministry officials are well aware that protectionists among the Mediterranean member-countries of the European Community will, along with the United States, probably prevail when an estimated 42 countries sign the next agreement.

The Community has further refined the system of compartmentalising developing countries.

The top drawer now consists of so-called Mediterranean preference countries that are not covered by the MFA but with which bilateral quotas have been agreed.

They include Morocco and Tunisia, and included Portugal until it joined the Community at the beginning of this year. Portugal is to retain its preferential status for a transitional period of three to four years.

But the Portuguese are worried they may now have to throw their home market open to textile imports from the Far East without being able to sell more in other Common Market countries.

After protracted bargaining in Brussels, however, Community countries

agreed to interpret provisions flexibly and benevolently where Portugal was concerned.

Britain, as Portugal's main textiles market in the European Community, promptly modified this assurance by adding the clause "as long as home industry is not harmed."

The second drawer is to consist of LDCs, or least developed and landlocked Third World countries, such as Bangladesh, and new textile exporters, such as Sri Lanka.

They are to be allowed to increase their existing quotas by six per cent or more per year. This concession is unlikely to upset the Common Market countries; they import little in the way of textiles from this group.

A further drawer comprises imports from countries considered normal. They are to be allowed to increase their exports to the European Community too.

Not so the "Gang of Four," as the German textile workers' union calls the Far Eastern countries that are the most serious threat to home industry.

They are Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Macao. Between them they account for 31 per cent of European clothing and textiles imports (56 per cent for clothing alone).

They are not to be allowed to step up exports of "highly sensitive" products such as blouses, shirts and knitwear at all.

Marginal increases of two to four per cent a year are to be allowed in respect of other textiles where they represent less serious competition.

European Community governments are also keen to comply with a special request by European textile manufacturers in general and German in particular, for preferential treatment of clothing they have made up in low-wage countries.

The trade unions have called for preferential treatment in this context to be pegged to social progress in the Third World, such as minimum wages, a ban on child labour and legalisation of trade union activity.

These demands have not been incorporated in the Community's negotiating package. Ministry officials say they are simply not negotiable.

The heavily indebted developing countries have regularly stressed in the run-up to the negotiations that they will hardly be in a position to fund their debts if they aren't allowed to export more to the industrialised world.

Textiles and clothing account for six and eight per cent of non-oil Third World exports.

Roland Bunzenhal (Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 March 1986)

Commodity agreements can be a mixed blessing

There is growing doubt about the meaningfulness of international commodity and buffer stocks agreements.

The crisis on the tin market has shown that the arrangements between consumer and producer countries are unable to prevent a sharp fall in the price of a given commodity.

Developing countries, which are generally committed to their role as suppliers of raw materials, were guaranteed good export earnings so long as the demand of the western world for raw materials continued to increase.

This situation changed, however, during the mid-1970s.

Following an unprecedented boom there was a sharp fall in raw materials prices.

The export earnings of developing countries were subject to considerable fluctuations.

Development strategies turned out to be totally unrealistic as they had not provided for a sudden loss of export revenue.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) felt that international commodity agreements were the answer.

A number of agreements of this kind already existed, e.g. for sugar, tin, cocoa and coffee.

The Unctad conference held in Nairobi in 1976 decided to set up a kind of cartel to control 12 commodities within the framework of the International Commodity Agreement.

In theory, it is hoped as Unctad's idea would work.

Unctad was convinced that "price stabilisation via a reduction or prevention of unforeseen eventualities" would not only stabilise the foreign exchange earnings of developing countries but also stimulate investments and increase employment.

The success of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec), which twice managed to jack up the price of oil during the 1970s, fanned the hopes of other raw materials producers that they too could achieve the same kind of success.

The big difference was, of course, that these producers wanted to reach agreement with the consumer countries first.

Their primary aim was to prevent the substantial price fluctuations. These initial hopes have been dashed.

Not one of the only five agreements in which a price stabilisation mechanism has been incorporated (tin, sugar, coffee, cocoa and natural rubber) has served its purpose.

The methods employed to regulate supply and demand — such as export and production quotas or buffer stocks — are not able to compensate for the marked fluctuation in the prices of raw materials.

In most cases, for example, not all producer and consumer countries acceded to the various agreements.

So there are many countries that can bypass and thus undermine the agreement's control measures.

Climatic changes automatically lead to irregularities in the case of agricultural commodities.

Export quotas are often fixed at too high a level and are out of line with the almost stagnating consumption levels.

Substitution via synthetic materials (as in the case of natural rubber or jute) together with efforts by the USA, Canada or Australia to produce more metals and mineral raw materials have made sales prospects even more gloomy for developing countries.

To oppose this development by artificially regulating commodity prices is an attempt to outwit the market, which has never worked.

Governments often spend too much money and waste too much time drawing up agreements which run contrary to all free market economy principles.

In the end nobody benefits. Many developing countries refuse to appreciate this fact.

The false call for a "New International Economic Order" to bring about a shift in the international distribution of income is based on a lack of understanding.

Part of this new order, its advocates maintain, must be a guarantee of fair prices for the products of developing countries.

The supporters of this idea forget that a completely regulated world economy perpetuates the role of developing countries as suppliers of raw materials.

The convenience of having guaranteed export earnings would stifle all efforts to extend a developing country's range of products and would prevent progress in this field.

Karen Schuler (Die Welt, Bonn, 18 March 1986)

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TOURISM

Travel trade converges on Berlin

MORGEN

China has been a mystery for centuries, but that is now a thing of the past. We want to show what we have achieved," said Mr Shan of the Chinese tourist board.

He was explaining why China's tourist organisation was taking part for the first time in the International Tourist Exchange in West Berlin.

Previously China has been represented by travel agencies but this year visitors are being attracted by a Chinese pavilion in red Chinese architecture with upturned roof corners and stylised stone lions.

There are photographs and reproductions of the archaeological dig at Shan where the buried army of statues 2,300 years old was found.

And there are pictures of cuddly panda bears, a wall carpet showing the Great Wall and a model of the White Swan luxury hotel in Canton.

Berlin's Tourist Exchange (ITB) attracted 2,137 exhibitors from 123 organisations in 142 countries and was visited this year by 20,000 specialists in the travel business.

A quarter of the 72,000 square metres of exhibition space was taken up by German participants.

Tourism in West Germany is having a difficult time at present. The number of tourists is only likely to increase in Bavaria.

Baden-Württemberg has recorded an increase in holidaymakers to Lake Constance and the spas in the state, but there have been fewer who have made their way to the Black Forest.

Herr Köhn, head of the state's tourist board, said the Black Forest had been badly hit by the slogan, "The dying forest."

On the other hand the popular TV soap opera, Black Forest Clinic, has been good advertising for the region.

This year Baden-Württemberg is emphasising that it is the Land of the Renaissance and the state is the cradle of the motor car, which celebrates its centenary this year.

Heidelberg University is also celebrating its 600th anniversary.

It is hoped that despite the weak American dollar the flood of American tourists will not dry up.

Some special trips are pepping up this year's tourist programmes. There is a two-day course in Bad Neuenahr for night owls who want to learn all about roulette, baccarat and black jack.

A black tie has to be worn for this course and the minimum age is 21.

The Trier weather office is offering short courses in meteorology. And the health resort of Braunfels in Hesse is inviting tourists to a symposium on reforestation and a seminar on recycling to demonstrate just how important environmental protection is.

Analysts are paying more and more attention to tourists and tourism. Their examinations of trends show that holidays for health are coming more and more to the fore.

Official figures reveal that 84.5 per cent of the country's 48.3 million citizens

over 14 regard their health as "very important."

There is, however, considerable difference of opinion as to what constitutes a health holiday.

Some say it means getting out into the country in the fresh air. Others regard sport as the be all and end all of a healthy holiday. A third group comes out for "eating properly."

Analysts have picked out senior citizens as a particularly important group. They can get about; they have free time and DM16bn a year in pensions.

Although they look for security and comfort in their travels they like to have things to do.

Tourism for young people, equally an important target group, extends from tours for teenagers to inter-rail tickets, valid for 24 countries in Europe and North Africa with reductions of between 25 to 40 per cent.

These young people are welcomed in the traditional holiday countries of Europe not as the hitch-hikers of today but as the tourists of tomorrow.

Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Yugoslavia and Greece all had lavish stands at ITB. Last year these countries all had to contend with a strong competitor — Turkish tourism.

Turkey is up and coming as a holiday country on the tourist map. Representatives on the Turkish stand assured everyone who would listen that the days of overbooking were past. Hoteliers who do overbook are severely penalised.

Far East holiday centres were presented colourfully and lavishly. The Sri Lanka stand had a dome of golden silk, although the former Ceylon is paying for the political unrest in the country.

South Africa, whose stand was a replica of a whitewashed Cape house facade, is also being hurt by the political situation. Thailand, on the other hand, is doing well.

Because of the drop in the US dollar the Americans, once more at ITB with a stand, expect a flood of foreign tourists.

A question mark hangs over Egypt because of the recent riots there. Lebanon and Iran have both disappeared from the tourist map.

Critics of tourism had a place at ITB. A "Group for New Travel" and several associations calling for "less hectic tourism" have appeared.

They do not plead for two years for travel, as do the left-wing Alternatives, with a sloop tank and tent in a brightly painted bus, but concentrate on regions endangered by mass tourism.

They call for an understanding of the local people and culture and are against building ski lifts and second and third holiday homes that disrupt the countryside.

They appeal for tourist planning that includes local people and officials affected.

Liselotte Müller
(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 March 1986)

A Düsseldorf secretary who was continuously pestered by a male fellow-traveller on a package tour through Russia and China has been refunded DM1,900 by the tour operator.

She and the travel agency came to this agreement in a Bonn court.

During the eleven-day trip to Peking, that cost DM5,600, the 41-year-old woman had to share a double room with the man, married but travelling alone.

He tried to make passes at her whether drunk or sober.

She said that he continuously whispered erotic words in her ear instead of leaving her alone to sleep.

During the day the man bragged about his alleged amatory conquest to

Hotels want cash with booking and higher cancellation fees

Hotel guide inspectors say hoteliers are keener on prepayment of bookings and less prepared to waive cancellation fees when visitors don't show up.

This point, made in the latest Varta Guide, a popular German good food and hotels guide, is confirmed by hoteliers themselves.

Lawyer Christian Ehlers, head of the Düsseldorf-based North Rhine-Westphalian hoteliers' association, regards this as a normal and necessary business attitude.

Both are referring to prepayment in hotels and to cancellation fees.

The Varta people report that prepayment is increasingly often insisted on before receptionists will hand over the room key.

Hotels would like to demand a cancellation fee for guests who book but do not show up. West German hotels are up to everything to make money.

From when a booking is made hotels are not very trusting. When making a telephone reservation more often than not the traveller has to give his telephone number and frequently his full address.

Companies making reservations during a fair have to do so in writing or by telex.

If a family makes a booking of several weeks' duration in a holiday resort in this country a deposit is demanded.

Hoteliers maintain that in the past guests who made reservations by telephone generally speaking did not turn up.

Hotelier Horst Püster, who has a holiday hotel in Warstein, said: "If the weather is not so good, then grandmother dies."

The North Rhine-Westphalian hotel and restaurants association recommends prepayment in first-class hotels.

Herr Ehlers said that then guests would be more realistic about their booking arrangements.

The rule is: money first then a bed. And this has to be applied to foreign guests as well.

When a foreign guest has left the hotel there is no way of getting money out of him or her.

Herr Ehlers points out that cruise operators are as hard as nails and demand 80 per cent of the booking price. Vacant hotel rooms are a product that cannot be sold again.

Herr Ehlers said that "prepayment is a matter of course abroad. It is important for us now."

Just how and when hoteliers ask for prepayment varies and depends on the competition.

Volker Roehrborn of the Hotel Rhein-

park Plaza in Neuss has very strict long-term bookings are confirmed writing after a deposit has been paid.

If the room is not taken up the guest is liable for the total price agreed.

In explanation of these conditions said that losses affected not only the accommodation side of the hotel but the restaurants and bars.

Credit cards are most welcome at Düsseldorf Hilton. They are a prepayment without cash.

They have been in common use long time in the USA, and are common in many European countries here.

Do hotel managers worry that they might leave without paying his bill?

Herr Braune of reception at the Hilton diplomatically said: "It would be like to say that does not happen any more."

But the times when long-stay guests with enormous bills could leave the hotel, having forgotten to pay, are long past.

The average stay in the Hilton is only a few days so the chances of running up a large bill are limited.

Despite many reservations, Herr Braune does not generally demand prepayment from all guests.

He said: "Germany is especially renowned for its hospitality and we do not want to lose that."

Wolfgang Vormann of the Günnec Hotel in Düsseldorf, said: "We trust guests a lot," bearing in mind international usage.

"When a guest registers at the hotel there is a 'face check.' Then it is decided whether prepayment should be demanded or not."

Guests without luggage are treated with suspicion, of course.

Herr Vormann spoke of a warning service in which hoteliers alerted each other about doubtful guests. "This has been used a lot recently," he said.

It is unlikely that in the future demands for prepayment before a room is offered will be common in West Germany. The competition for guests is too great.

Hotel and restaurant associations are battling with the Economic Ministry for a decision on cancellation fees.

The associations want the cancellation fee listed in hotel brochures along with all the other conditions for staying in a hotel.

Then people who book a room do not turn up will have to pay a 60 per cent of the room price on cancellation.

Carleinz T...
(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 6 March 1986)

Tour operator makes unusual damages award

the other holiday-makers. Her complaints to the tour guide were ignored. He said that he had been given a list of the tourists travelling alone by the Bonn travel agency, one man and one woman.

The secretary, rejected an offer of a single room for which she was to pay a surcharge of DM100. "a night." She didn't see why she should pay.

She said she couldn't afford to pay that much. She simply didn't have money. All her savings had been used up for the trip.

She could not leave the tour group because the group was travelling as a group visa.

The woman put before the court a large packet of love letters from the man. For weeks after the trip she had written to him.

To recover from the distress she suffered on her trip, she had had to visit a psychotherapist. Her return and his fees were costing her fortune.

Kat...
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 March 1986)

SCIENCE

Giotto's space encounter with Halley's comet

Scientists all over the world hailed the European space probe Giotto's rendezvous with Halley's Comet as a major achievement.

On 14 March, at 1.03 hours Central European Time, the probe passed within 670km (419 miles) of the comet's core.

Unfortunately the probe was unable to relay data at this point. Two seconds before reaching this point of closest contact the probe was shaken by particle bombardment.

As a result of this direct hit the probe's antennas were out of alignment with the mission's Australian tracking station.

At a distance of just over 1,000km (625 miles) from the core the camera was destroyed by dust. It took about 25 minutes to stabilise the probe and relay data again.

Scientists disagreed beforehand on the risk that Giotto might be destroyed by cosmic particles as flew past the comet.

A few days earlier two Soviet Vega probes were damaged as they flew past the comet at a distance of 8,000-9,000km (5,000-5,625 miles) from its core.

Vega 1's power supply was nearly halved by dust that covered the solar panels. Vega 2's power supply was reduced by only about 20 per cent.

The comet's core is unusual in shape,

which probably accounted for this difference.

At the European Space Agency's Darmstadt operations centre Mr Zagdeyev, head of the Vega project, outlined with the aid of two photos relayed by the Vega probes conclusions Soviet scientists had reached.

The core, he said, seems to consist of two sections joined by a bridge. Photos taken by Giotto appear to bear out this Soviet conclusion.

Herr Keller, in charge of photography on the Giotto mission, says the nucleus is peanut-shaped and about 11km long and 5-6km wide.

Presumably because it isn't uniform in consistency, more gas and dust particles are released from certain parts of the core than others in the high temperatures near the Sun.

The dust count near the comet depends partly on which part of the nucleus is pointed toward the Sun.

Until a few days before Giotto met Halley no-one knew for sure what size the comet's core was. It can't be seen clearly from Earth.

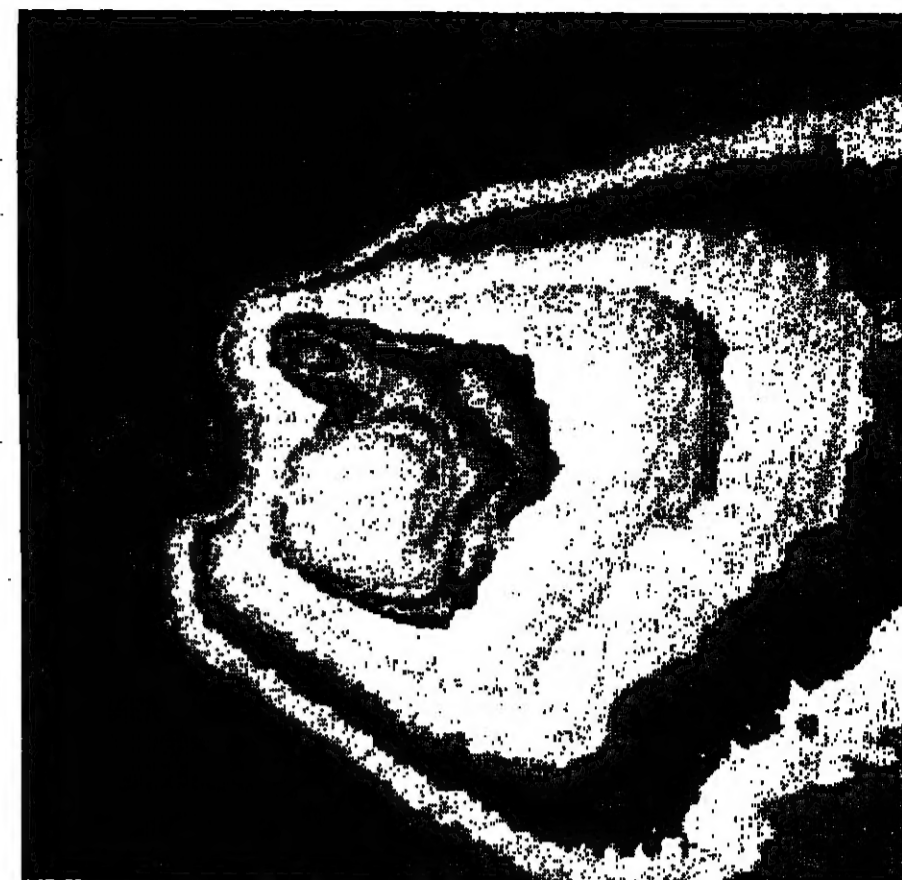
Past estimates have been based mainly on how bright the comet is some distance from the Sun. Further away from the Sun it doesn't have a "head" of gas and dust either.

Assuming the nucleus to consist of strongly reflecting ice, it would seem to be about three to four kilometres in diameter.



What is happening in Germany? How does Germany view the world?

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The satellite computer photo of Halley's comet that made history (Photo: AP)

But as the "dirty snowball" is in reality much larger, it presumably consists of much darker material.

Data relayed to the Japanese Suisei probe show it to rotate on its axis in about 52 hours.

Giotto started relaying important measurements the previous morning. At 6 a.m. the first photo of the comet's nucleus was relayed from a distance of about 4.4 million kilometres (3.7 million miles).

This first picture was naturally fairly coarse. One point on the photo corresponded to an area of 100 x 100km of comet.

More important measurements were relayed at this stage by the magnetometer and a plasma research device. Turbulence was recorded in the interplanetary magnetic field for about an hour.

At 10 a.m., by which time Giotto and Halley were still 3.7 million kilometres (2.3 million miles) apart, a device analysing the ion output of the solar wind registered a discontinuity that might also be due to the comet's energy.

The probe seemed to have reached a zone where the first particles from Halley's comet met solar wind molecules.

Not until that evening did Giotto pass through the shock front where solar wind, held up by ions surrounding Halley's core, is diverted to either side of the comet.

At this point the probe was still 1.1 million kilometres (687,500 miles) from the comet. Its measuring equipment recorded a halving of particle speed from 1,000 to 500 km per second.

Just after midnight, on 14 March, the first dust particles hit Giotto's reinforced shield. Particle bombardment was gradually intensified. During the two minutes before contact was temporarily lost there were 120 direct hits per second.

They seem to have knocked out the special multi-colour camera on board the probe.

Yet scientists still feel the mission was a success. They were expecting some such mishap. Giotto was given only an 80- to 90-per-cent chance of passing the point of closest contact unscathed.

Esa's scientific director, M. Bonnet, talked in terms of Russian roulette. Yet the probe reached its target, as Esa's director-general Reimar Lüst pointed out.

As it flew past the comet a constant situation report was relayed to the Soviet space operations centre near Moscow. Soviet and US data were instrumental in ensuring that Giotto came so close to the comet.

Millions of people were able to follow the mission's progress on TV better, in some cases, than journalists in Darmstadt to cover the occasion.

Many VIPs were at the space operations centre too. They included experiment staff, NASA officials, Soviet and Japanese Halley mission scientists and leading comet specialists.

Comet specialists present included Fred Whipple, who devised the "dirty snowball" theory in 1950, and Jan Hendrik Oort, the "comet cloud" man.

Oort's theory is that all comets come from a kind of bowl surrounding the Sun at a distance of between one and two light years. He is one of the few scientists who experienced Halley's last appearance in 1910. He recalled the occasion in Darmstadt.

Esa must now decide what to do with Giotto. If the probe had survived the flypast unscathed it was due to have its course slightly corrected and might have passed close by the Earth again in 1988 or 1989.

In the Earth's gravitational sphere it could then have been rerouted to another small celestial body, such as another comet or an asteroid. But now the camera has broken down this plan may be scrapped.

Professor Lüst said in Darmstadt that international cooperation had been excellent in Halley missions. He hoped, on Europe's behalf, there might be more such missions.

Mr Zagdeyev, head of the Soviet Vega mission, agreed. Preliminary consideration has already been given to several projects, mainly including missions to probe solar influence on the Earth, planetary research and satellite radioastronomy.

Mr Zagdeyev did not confirm reports that the Soviet Union was planning a manned flight to Mars.

But given international cooperation, he said, an unmanned mission might fly to the planet and bring rock samples back within the next decade.

Günter Paul
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 March 1986)

BOOKS

Grass's rodent vision of Armageddon

Saarbrücker Zeitung

After George Orwell's publisher had finished reading his novel 1984, he wrote: "It's a great book but I pray to God I will be spared having to read the likes of it again."

It was one of the gloomiest visions of the future ever presented to the public. A similar shock-experience awaits the reader of the latest novel by Günter Grass, *Die Rättin*.

Orwell, a committed English journalist and novelist, had, like Grass, no qualms about expressing his political views.

But the quality they most share is their willingness, springing from concern for mankind, to use any possible effect to illustrate to people the need for a re-examination of their ways.

This is where the parallel ends. Orwell the classical portrait of negative utopia, lets his purposive pessimism prevail with severe logic.

Grass in comparison unfolds for us 35 years later with overwhelmingly confusing impressions, a panorama of the world's impending doom.

The two main characters of the novel are the hard-worded author writing in the first person and a dainty female rat, given to him by his family as a practical Christmas present.

She lives in a cage on his desk and in the domesticity of his study he lets her inspire in him projects, articles, apocalyptic visions and enigmatic literary ideas.

"She is seated next to me... she plays with and manipulates my fears, she has started to inhabit my dreams... my daydreams, my nightmares are her staked-out territory."

In unremitting dialogue they struggle with one another. The rat argues bluntly:

"Stop she says. Men used to exist. He is a has-been, remembered for his madness. He will never again have a history. All hope is gone. You're of no importance. It was inevitable."

International PEN congress to be held in Hamburg

About 400 writers from all over the world are expected to attend the 49th international PEN congress in Hamburg from 22 to 27 June.

Martin Gregor-Dellin, president of the German PEN centre in Hamburg, said the congress, on the theme "Current affairs as reflected in contemporary literature," was the most important in the centre's history.

Among the foreign writers participating the best known will be Alberto Moravia (Italy), Susan Sontag (USA), and Margaret Atwood (Canada).

East Germany will be represented by Christa Wolf. The principal speaker of the opening ceremony will be Günter Grass.

The members of PEN will tackle the theme of current affairs in contemporary literature in four public meetings. They are spread over three days.

With fictitious memories he tries to secure a reality whose course nevertheless ends there with the atomic destruction of mankind. The rat had been ahead of him. Past and present mix in the form of the drummer from the *Tin Drum*, Oscar Matzerath. He is now about 60, with the usual infirmities of old age, and earns a substantial living in the media.

With his support the narrator produces a video-film about dying forests in which homeless characters out of Grimm fairy tales wander in desperation. The friendly, liberal Brothers Grimm timidly supervise them, casting a helpless eye on the chaos.

Moreover there is much talk of a large boat with a female crew, *Die neue Ilsebill*, which is cruising around the Baltic.

They are officially entrusted with researching and quantifying the continuous increase in jellyfish.

Secretly under the guidance of an incredible talking fish they are looking for the sunken city of Vineta. Their leader is the beautiful, curly-headed Damroka.

Günter Grass, *Die Rättin*, Luchterhand Verlag, Darmstadt, 512pp, DM39.-

the favourite of the narrator. The city was once ruled by women and is now supposed to be a refuge for endangered people.

Malskat, an ingenious forger of Gothic frescoes in north German churches, appears out of the 1950s. Grass calls them the Phoney Fifties. The author is convinced present day malaise has its roots in that decade.

With these shadowy characters, mostly stemming from his previous work, Grass populates his bizarre, tabular.

Like slides in a projector they are shoved into the central conversation with the Armageddon-obsessed rat.

The dreaming narrator receives her

Relatively unknown literature from Bulgaria, Iceland, the Philippines, Senegal and Korea will be discussed in a pilot project on "Neglected literature of our time."

The problem of politically persecuted authors will be the focal point of the two-day PEN delegates' conference on "Writers in prison."

This is also the theme of a public benefit conference in Hamburg's Thalia Theatre. Literary texts of politically persecuted authors will be presented.

To mark the 65th anniversary of PEN, which was founded in 1921 in London as a United Nations for writers, a premier of a work by Korean composer Isan Yun will be played at the Hamburg Musikhalle.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 March 1986)



Novelist Günter Grass is here seen in self-portrait with his heroine, the Rat (Photo: RAMA)

messages via a monitor screen in a spaceship which is orbiting the earth.

From this position he witnesses in graphic vividness the destruction of all human life and the beginning of the post-human epoch.

The rats take over the wasted world after having subversively gnawed at the computer systems of the superpowers, setting off the Armageddon.

Neutron-bombed Danzig (Grass's native city and the scene of earlier novels) with its dead but preserved people forms the background the increasingly human-like hierarchical structures of the rat empire.

In public recently, Grass explained that in his view and one presumes and in that of the comprehensively informed that the ruling classes and the unenlightened had reduced the survival chances of mankind to an imperceptible minimum. The only answer answer to this blind lack of insight is infernal laughter.

His use of overflowing absurd ideas are aimed at those who have lost interest and are in danger of becoming intellectually aloof.

The grimace of bitter humour remains the author's privilege. Hidden behind the humour waiting to bowl over the reader is the weight of the subject matter.

Despite its fascinating literary experimentation *Die Rättin* remains a heavy read.

The repetitions and variations are tiring. The text of some 500 pages has too much padding at the expense of vividness.

Scenes such as when the woman on the ship hear the song of the Medusa jellyfish are of impressive power. However, every aesthetic assessment seems secondary to the doomsday prophecies of the book.

Grass is like a preacher of repentance out of the Middle Ages. With a raised finger of warning he intones a notorious man's swan song.

He is doubtless, like Orwell, an ultra-conservative thinker. Despite his progressive political disposition, Orwell came to see man as incorrigible.

Dissatisfaction with the modern world with its encumbrance of the individual with an excess of unfathomable contradictions is a widespread phenomenon, whether expressed in ecological movements or in resigned pessimism.

Hardly anyone is free of fears and in this respect Grass hits the nerves of many.

Franz Kafka, whose books were a paranoid phantasmagoria written from the viewpoint of the condemned, once wrote "A book must be like an axe which splits the frozen sea within us."

The reader must decide for himself whether Grass has succeeded with a liberating split.

Leonore Schwartz (Saarbrücker Zeitung, 28 February 1986)

Court orders seizure of Miller novel

Frankfurter Allgemeine

More than two thousand pi men seized copies of Henry er's book *Opus Pistorium* on 12 N

They raided a Darmstadt and the Gütersloh headquarters blishers Bertelsmann. They raided about 300 sales outlets of book clubs.

The nationwide action resulted a decision of the Darmstadt District Court. The judiciary justified its decision with the explanation that the book describes sex with children and animals and was written purely for financial gain.

This is not entirely untrue. Miller wrote the book in the 1940s as a purely contract work.

In his early years he was outcast and impoverished. He supplied the seller Milton Lubowski with erotic a dollar a page. These pages were duplicated and sold privately to customers.

The books were first published in spring 1984, four years after Miller's death. This paper's literary critic described them as conveyers of pure sex.

The German-language rights held by Rowohlt, the Hamburg blishers. The publication has caused any objections.

Surprisingly the court believes it is the right to restrict sales of the book.

One could call it a judicial case of déjà vu. A deplorable legal battle took place 23 years ago over Miller's book. It would seem that the whole thing had definitely started again.

The publishers and others certainly seem to see it in this light. Many are in arms about it.

The management of Bertelsmann's book club have criticised it in the strongest terms. They are calling it censorship and judicial delinquency of a writer of world renown.

Rowohlt, the publishers, have based their case on the claim that the book is generally not considered to be pornographic and that the book's parodies of scene literature. In other words, it is a writer of world renown.

In 1963 the public prosecutor took action against Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*. He said: "One can open the book at any page and find obscene passages everywhere."

But the court itself however proved that *Opus Pistorium* cannot be compared with the *Tropic of Cancer*. But it seems questionable to deny the book's literary merit.

Rudolf Steffen, the head of the Federal government agency for the protection of children from harmful literature, said recently he would never undertake action against respected authors like Miller.

It is worth questioning whether the Darmstadt judiciary knew of this when they decided to take action against *Opus Pistorium*.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 March 1986)

EDUCATION

Salem School is served notice to quit

Hamburger Abendblatt

Salem, the private school on Lake Constance, is, like Eton, one of the world's best fee-paying schools.

Famous alumni include Britain's Prince Philip and Munich historian Golo Mann.

The school is housed in a castle belonging to the Margrave Max of Baden, and relations between him and the school have deteriorated seriously.

He wants the school to leave his castle at the end of this year, although the tenancy agreement runs until 1999.

For some years there has been friction between the 53-year-old margrave, a reserve officer, and the school's management and the teaching faculty.

The margrave's grandfather, Prince Max of Baden, and Kurt Hahn, founded the school in 1920, partly on the Eton pattern and partly on Hahn's own original lines.

The margrave regards the school's present management as far too lax and liberal-minded.

He wants teaching aims for the 500 boys and girls in the school to be more precise and discipline to be stricter. As it is, from 6.30 a.m. until late evening they are kept continuously on the move.

The margrave is not particularly worried about minor details but he is upset by used matches strewn round the courtyard or a piece of toast that once was hurled from a castle window.

For years things of this sort have caused him irritation.

"I cannot have my name associated with the school with things as they are," he says.

The school, he says, is in a state of crisis and goes on to produce a long list of things wrong:

The girls dress themselves up in expensive silk clothes. Two unmarried

teachers became pregnant and carried on teaching instead of being sent post-haste away.

Wilfried Kuhn, the margrave's representative, says:

"Salem is a coeducational school with boys and girls at the age of puberty. Teachers can't go around doing exactly what they forbid pupils. That is lacking in style."

The school administration regards the complaints as an "attempt to impose discipline from outside."

Bernhard Bueb, 47, head of the school since 1974, has quite different teaching ideas.

He says: "The margrave wants the school to be an institution similar to a military academy with the accent on leadership and pressure on the pupils. I don't have much time for that."

Herr Bueb wants to educate his pupils in the conservative liberalism of Theodor Heuss, adding quite pointedly: "We do not regard ourselves as the margrave's cabinet."

He makes it quite clear that the margrave has no right to interfere in the school's economic and educational affairs.

Max von Baden has demanded the dismissal of the school's governing body and headmaster Bernhard Bueb.

These demands have fallen on deaf ears, so the margrave has resorted to terminating the school's tenancy lease.

The school's governing body is of the view that the notice to quit is not valid because there are no grounds why it should vacate the castle.

A spokesman for the school's governing body, Levin von Wulffen, said that there were no reasons why the school should not continue.

Stuttgart publisher Ernst Klett said: "We are most upset that the margrave should go against the school in this way. It has such a good reputation."

President Richard von Weizsäcker is reportedly very irritated by the row, as is Lothar Späth, prime minister of Baden-Württemberg.

He is scheduled to attend the school's centenary celebrations for the birth of founder Professor Kurt Hahn in October. An arbitrator has been called in.

There is one comforting thing about it all. The margrave has obviously not broken with the school entirely. His 14-year-old son is a pupil.

Fritjof Theegarten (Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 March 1986)

Sex education in sorry state, expert warns

Professor Rudi Maskus, a Bonn educationalist, feels that sex education in this country's schools is in a hopeless position.

He is chairman of the West German Society for Sex Education and says that some teachers skate past the theme and others are not adequately trained to teach it.

There was a time when sex education in schools. That enthusiasm has died.

Now only West Berlin, Bavaria and Hamburg fulfill their constitutional responsibilities.

On 21 December 1977 the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe ruled that the Länder were legally responsible for providing basic sex education.

The Education Ministers' Conference ruled in 1968 that schools, as well as parents, should pay more attention to sex instruction.

The states said that teachers in all subjects were duty-bound to give their pupils instruction in sexual matters.

Only in a few cases, however, has sex education been introduced into school curricula.

Limit degree courses to four years, says Scientific Council

Time allowed students to study should be limited to four years and three months, and students who just fritter away their time should be made unwelcome.

The Scientific Council, supported by the central and state governments, aims to stop this waste of educational resources.

The limit proposed reduces the average time a student currently spends at college or university by a third.

The council hopes that the shorter courses of study will be more closely related to careers.

Many foreign professors have shaken their heads in despair at the time students in this country spend at university and how unrelated courses are to a student's later career requirements.

At 26 a student in Britain or France is already established in a career. It is another four years before a German student takes his or her degree.

School in Germany takes at least 13 years up to university entrance level; compared with other countries this is a record.

The budding student spends up to two years either waiting for a university place or doing national service in the armed forces or social work as a conscientious objector.

This long study period is no guarantee of quality as compared with the situation abroad, as German experts are gratefully coming to realise.

Strange methods of university management result in the student year of ten being unnecessarily shortened.

The average student's week begins in a dilatory way on Monday and abruptly ends on Friday in the manner often attributed to tradesmen and civil servants.

No work is done over the weekend and laboratories are empty. University facilities can be infinitely better utilised by extending the student year to nine months.

The Scientific Council's recommendations would mean that one million students would graduate earlier and be on the labour market earlier in life.

The majority of students are in favour

of the course-time reduction reforms proposed by the council.

The perpetual student made fun of by the satirical magazine *Stimpelstimm* is now rarely to be found in or outside lecture theatres.

The revolutionary student of the 1960s, out to improve the world, is also the exception not the rule these days.

Similarly, students who study with no particular aim in view are rare.

Early in life students now have their sights set on job prospects.

Some years ago education fanatics in this country believed that unless the student body was tripled West Germany would be reduced to the status of an underdeveloped country.

This created a glut of graduates for whom life began in earnest when they began to look for their first job.

The reduction of the study period recommended by the scientific council will ease the student bottleneck, but it is no answer to the question how to find work for the increasing number of graduates.

Graduate unemployment is still lower than the general jobless percentage.

The disparity in the academic world between supply and demand is shown by the large numbers of teachers, doctors and lawyers seeking jobs and the reductions in recruitment by the civil service.

Increasing the rate at which graduates come on the labour market will only make this disparity between vacancies and applicants worse.

Hermann Eich (General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 5 March 1986)

School sports exemption on religious grounds

Parents belonging to the Catholic Apostolic Church have won an appeal for their two daughters not to take part in school gym and swimming lessons on religious grounds.

The parents, from Grafing, made their appeal before a Munich administrative court.

Their religion forbids women from visiting swimming pools and wearing shorts of any kind.

The judge ruled that religious considerations took precedence over education, so upholding the idea of freedom of religion.

The Catholic Apostolic Church has very strict rules.

It rejects as modernist the developments that have taken place in the Roman Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council.

The church's anti-Pope, Gregory XVII, lives in Spain.

He threatens church members with excommunication if women wear shorts or visit public swimming baths.

School authorities would not allow the girls to do gym in dresses for safety reasons.

dpa (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 March 1986)

The author, Wolfgang Scharmann, is head of laboratory animal breeding and chairman of the Federal Health Office's animals experiments ethics commission in Berlin.

RESEARCH

Cruelty to Animals Bill is unlikely to satisfy anyone

Whatever shape the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Bill takes as it makes its way through the Bonn Bundestag it can reasonably be expected to satisfy no-one.

Experiments on laboratory animals are basically a conflict of irreconcilable interests, so a solution satisfying all parties is inconceivable. Vivisection is also a highly emotional issue.

Both sides, animal-lovers and scientists, claim to be motivated by a sense of ethical responsibility. But when anti-vivisectionists call for a ban on laboratory experiments of this kind they don't have to answer for the consequences.

They are consequences that may affect both people and the environment.

They can withdraw to their corner, like little Jack Horner, and feel with an easy conscience how very good they are.

Doctors and research scientists cannot take this easy way out. They have a keener sense of responsibility and feel bound to bear the well-being of animals and humans in mind.

Doctors are bound by their oath to ease or prevent human suffering. If they were not to carry out an animal experiment designed to ease human suffering they would be guilty of immoral behaviour in terms of their professional code.

Is there no solution to the dilemma that help for humans can only be provided at animals' expense (and vice-versa)? Albert Schweitzer suggested one: over 60 years ago.

"Those who carry out experiments on

animals or infect them to arrive at findings designed to help humans," he wrote, "cannot generally console themselves with the thought that their dreadful handiwork serves a good purpose."

"They must consider in each and every case whether there is any real need to make this animal sacrifice for the sake of mankind. They must also painstakingly ensure that pain is kept to a minimum."

So the scientist's task is to consider in every case, regardless of the objective, whether the benefit to be derived from the experiment warrants or outweighs the suffering the animal may undergo.

The greater the suffering the animal may undergo, the more painstakingly the scientist must weigh up these two points. The result must surely be that certain experiments ought to be banned on ethical grounds.

One would have liked to hear an authoritative German viewpoint, comparable with the one expressed by Sir Andrew Huxley, president of the Royal Society and as such entitled to express an expert opinion on animal experiments in Great Britain.

He feels animals can only be subjected to serious pain, even temporarily, in exceptional circumstances, such as research into pain.

Experiments involving serious suffering for any length of time ought to be banned once and for all. They can only

be justified, using a strictly limited number of laboratory animals, if they are the only way of fighting a dangerous new disease.

German scientists have so far sidestepped, for whatever reason, this basic issue raised by animal-lovers and anti-vivisectionists.

The Bonn government's draft of the new Bill envisages serious restrictions on experiments in which animals are subjected to suffering for any length of time.

Proof is required that the experiments are necessary for what are called "essential requirements of humans and animals, including the solution of scientific problems of outstanding significance."

Yet experts are agreed that this formula is so vague that it can be driven through with a coach and horses. It has been criticised by both animal-lovers and scientists.

The decision whether experiments on animals are scientifically necessary has so far been up to the individual scientist, at best a group of scientists.

The government agency entrusted with responsibility for authorising experiments involving vertebrate animals is usually overtaxed when required to consider "scientific necessity."

So all amendments to or versions of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Bill envisage setting up ethics commissions to advise the authorities whether experiments for which permission has been applied are scientifically necessary and can be considered ethical.

Membership of these commissions is one of the most controversial aspects of the Bill. Animal-lovers and anti-vivisectionists demand representation; scientists would prefer to be on their own.

Mixed commissions, as scientific ones, are the result of mistrust of scientific research and are likely, in the final analysis, to lead to restrictions on the freedom of research guaranteed in the Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

Animal-lovers and anti-vivisectionists claim to be entitled at least to questions and feel no less competent than scientists to express views on ethical issues.

It is hard to see why scientificists such as the Max Planck Society agree to representatives of the anti-ethical commissions set up to discuss scientific issues.

Non-scientific members of such commissions could, for instance, be philosophers or theologians.

Their work could help to make what goes on in animal research laboratories more readily apparent to a wider public and to allay fears that the weighing up of interests is ill-balanced because scientists are bound to be motivated by self-interest.

Above all, having both the scientific and non-scientific members would set an example of interdisciplinary discussion on ethical problems of scientific research.

Discussions involving representatives of both sides are indispensable if increasingly urgent considerations of responsibility for various new developments in science and technology are to be practised.

Besides, ethics commissions could help to make scientists more sensitive to issues of cruelty to animals, especially as ethics is an also-ran in scientific education.

In biometrical study, which is...
Continued on page 13

Drug manufacturers warn against total ban on vivisection

Drug manufacturers support legislation to prevent cruelty to animals but are opposed to attempts to impose restrictions on pharmaceutical research.

The Greens, Germany's anti-nuclear, ecological protest party, have in contrast called at a press conference for an immediate ban on laboratory animal experiments.

A number of alternative experiments are now carried out where laboratory animals were once used in developing and testing new drugs, said a spokesman for the Pharmaceutical Industry Association at a press conference in Bonn.

As a result the number of laboratory animals used in experiments of this kind fell by over 40 per cent from 4,160,000 to 2,440,000 a year between 1977 and 1984, he said.

Despite this decline experiments on laboratory animals could not be dispensed with entirely. A total ban would seriously affect scientific research.

Experiments on laboratory animals served the purpose of fighting disease and protecting the health of man and animals. They were governed by a wide range of legal provisions and scientific standards.

The industry was in favour of legislation currently before the Bundestag because, it was felt, the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Bill could help to bring about a further reduction in the number of laboratory animals used for research purposes of this kind.

Further alternatives were to be developed. German pharmaceutical manufacturers were already investing over DM200m a year in the quest for alternative methods.

But they were strongly opposed to any attempt to hamper pharmaceutical research by more red tape and woolly legislative provisions.

German manufacturers claim to be a leading international partner in the development of drugs for animals.

They breed 30 per cent of the animals they need. Sixty-six per cent are only bred on a commercial basis. Only four per cent are bought from abroad and they are subject to government supervision.

The Greens demand an immediate and total ban on animal experiments and a ban on battery farming. The ban must include experiments at research establishments, the others must include battery hens.

Green Bundestag MP Helmut Wapler criticised the Bonn coalition parties' motions tabled in committee.

The Bill as proposed was already satisfactory, he said, but coalition proposals before the Bundestag research technology committee further diluted it.

"They were aimed at making it easier to gain official permission to go ahead with experiments. So the Greens ought to hold a fresh Bundestag hearing on vivisection."

(Händelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 12 March 1986)

MEDICINE

Test-tube babies herald Brave New World, forensic expert warns

Human embryos deep-frozen at an early stage of development survive refrigeration unharmed and fears that the cold may cause them mental harm are mere speculation.

These fears merely divert attention from the effects of an entirely different kind of cold that cannot be measured by thermometer.

It is the cold chill of the ruthlessly rational way in which embryos are handled to produce test-tube babies.

The deep-freeze technique is needed to keep surplus embryos alive. But surplus embryos do not occur by coincidence; they are stockpiled to cater for a demand.

The only known way to preserve an ovum is to freeze it and deep-freeze the embryo. The "spare" deep-frozen

The author, Professor Hans-Bernhard Wuermeling, is head of Erlangen-Nuremberg University department of forensic medicine. He writes in connection with the birth of Germany's first deep-frozen test-tube baby.

embryo is only transplanted to the womb if the first transplant fails. So the surplus embryo leads only a surrogate existence.

The idea of deep-freezing a surplus embryo is understandable. The aim is to spare the mother a repetition of the ovum extraction procedure.



Otherwise she would be liable to one new course of hormone treatment after another and to operations under full anaesthesia.

Medical ethics enters the picture when it is a matter of whether reducing the burden on the mother to a minimum warrants producing surplus embryos and junking them when they are no longer needed.

The usual answer is that the mother must come first. But the upshot is that surplus embryos are available for scientific research.

So the ice cuts both ways, as it were. The embryos serve a scientific interest as well as the mother's.

The test-tube baby born in Erlangen on 28 February spent the first few days of its life deep-frozen as a standby in case the first transplant was a failure (which it was).

The Benda Report, commissioned inter-ministerially in Bonn, studiously avoids going into the ethics of deep-freezing embryos for this purpose.

It does, however, go into another argument, that after hormone treatment to produce the embryos the mother might be in a worse condition physically to go

ahead with the embryo transfer than a month or so later.

So it could be advisable to deep-freeze the embryo and not go ahead with the transplant until a later menstrual cycle.

But the longer time is allowed to pass between test-tube fertilisation and transplantation, the greater what may be called the non-medical risk grows.

The mother may change her mind and no longer want to go ahead with pregnancy. She may fall ill, lose her husband or simply no longer want a child.

No-one can or will then want to force her to go ahead with it, so the embryo is left over and is surplus to requirements, as it were.

Its legal status may also be changed by transplantation, and the longer it is delayed, the likelier a change in legal status becomes.

If its parents' marriage is annulled or the father dies before the transplant, then legally the baby may inherit but not be a clear-cut case for the family court.

What is more, this legally dubious state of affairs is a risk deliberately run rather than a stroke of fate.

The way test-tube babies have been handled in Britain underlines the point that the deep-freeze technique is strictly for the parents' convenience rather than for the child's well-being.

In Britain a test-tube twin has been artificially fertilised and deep-frozen and the other twin used for diagnosis to decide whether or not to go ahead with the transplant.

That introduces the element of industrial quality control into procreation. The deep-freeze technique stands symbolically for the change, and not a change for the better, from a parent-child to a producer-product relationship.

Hans-Bernhard Wuermeling
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 3 March 1986)

Continued from page 12

mainly with measurement and data, there is a serious risk of animals being reduced to the status of a working organism.

A number of research scientists regard rats, mice and guinea-pigs more as living suppliers of statistical data or "animal material" than as living creatures for which man shares responsibility.

Recent public debate has made a deeper impression on research scientists than might appear the case. Scientists often admit to feeling that anti-vivisectionists have a point and say they used to carry out laboratory experiments on animals without giving the matter a second thought.

The situation has changed in this respect at least. Experiments nowadays are planned more thoroughly. Consideration is given to the number of animals required. On occasion animal experiments are considered and dismissed.

But we are still far removed from a code of conduct in which the moral cost is seen as no less important than the scientific or economic benefit.

Wolfgang Scharmann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 10 March 1986)



Cardiac surgeon Professor Bücherl and his artificial heart (Photo: dpa)

Artificial heart patient dies in Berlin

A 39-year-old Berlin man, the first German to be given an artificial heart, has died five days after the first transplant and a day after the artificial heart was replaced by a human heart, that of a 21-year-old man killed in a car crash.

"The heart worked well but the patient's condition steadily deteriorated," said the heart surgeon, Professor Emil Sebastian Bücherl of Berlin University Hospital.

After the artificial heart was replaced by a donor's heart the patient's circulation had not improved sufficiently, despite medication, for an artificial kidney to be used.

Kidney collapse had been largely to blame for the patient's death, he said. The new heart had shown signs of irregularity for the change, and not a change for the better, from a parent-child to a producer-product relationship.

The wife of the patient, a 39-year-old interior decorator and designer, had constantly been kept informed and given her consent to each move.

The patient himself, who suffered a fatal heart attack during bypass surgery, didn't know what had happened to him, Professor Bücherl said.

"In the same situation I would do it all again because I am convinced every move was justified," the Berlin heart surgeon said. First the artificial heart, then the donor's heart had been the patient's sole hope of survival.

If the situation were to recur he would, however, decide earlier to use the artificial heart and be less ready to replace it by a donor's heart.

As long as the artificial heart was in use it was much easier to regulate the patient's circulation. He had decided to replace the artificial heart in this instance because the donor's heart was virtually ideal.

In the long term, Professor Bücherl feels, the artificial heart is likely to emerge as a permanent solution and not just an interim or makeshift arrangement.

He sees artificial hearts as much more satisfactory than hearts taken from specially bred animals.

Professor Bücherl doesn't see the death of his latest patient as a setback to his research work in general.

Gerd Zitzelsberger
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 14 March 1986)

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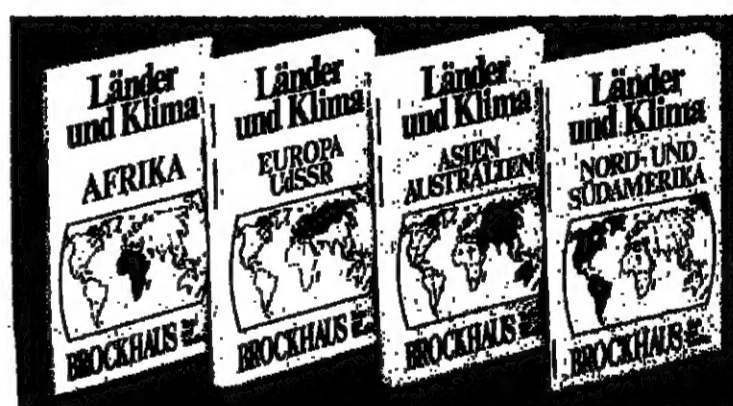
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